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“To Heare It by Mouth”: Speech and Accent in Early Modern Language Learning

John Gallagher

ABSTRACT The language-learning texts of the early modern period were intimately concerned with questions of orality and the sound of speech. This essay begins by looking at methods of representing and teaching pronunciation in vernacular language manuals of the period from 1480 to 1715, to see how authors attempted to bridge the gap between print and speech, and how readers modified their manuals to make them more usable in oral contexts. Recognizing, as early modern authors and teachers did, that there is a limit to print’s ability to communicate the sound of speech, this essay then unpicks the new reading practices that activated the oral materials found in these manuals. Lastly, it shows how in an increasingly competitive educational market, manuals came to stand for the voices of their authors and to make claims for their pedagogical authority that were vocal in every sense. In “Voicing Text 1500–1700,” ed. Jennifer Richards and Richard Wistreich, special issue, <http://muse.jhu.edu/resolve/66>. **KEYWORDS:** early modern language manuals; orality; John Florio; Claudius Hollyband; Jacques Bellot; Paul Festeau

✎ **WRITING IN THE MARGIN** of his Italian grammar in 1579, Gabriel Harvey made a telling note. Where the author argued that “the manner of pronouncing, cannot be shewed by writing: wherfore it is to be learned of him that hath th’Italian tongue,” Harvey scribbled the words “viva voce.”¹ Early modern readers like Harvey, and the authors of the pedagogical texts they used, were keenly aware of the importance of speech to language learning. They understood the necessity of pronouncing a new language correctly and learning to speak with a “correct” or prestigious accent. The concern with correct pronunciation that animated humanist debates on classical-language education was shared by teachers and learners of vernacular languages. This preoccupation with the sound of speech is evident throughout the

1. Scipione Lentulo, *An Italian Grammer; Written in Latin by Scipio Lentulo a Neapolitaine: And turned in English: By H[enry] G[rantham]* (London, 1575), annotations on p. 17 of the copy in the Huntington Library (call number 62184).

corpus of language-learning materials published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Beginning his *True Marrowe of the French Tongue* (1623), the soldier-turned-teacher John Wodroephe explained the importance of a knowledge of French pronunciation with a metaphor drawn from the clothworking trade:

Before wee beginne to warpe the Webbe of this thinne and shire peece of cloath, I must go about to know if the tooles be oiled, and in good order, to the end it may be the easier to weave by the workemen, to wit: the french Pronounciation of the letters, comparing them with the tooles of a weaver, who can not exercise the same unlesse they bee in good order to beginne his webbe.²

The ability to pronounce a foreign language correctly was foundational in learning to speak it. As Roger Williams wrote in his *Key into the Language of America* (1643), “the Life of all Language is in the Pronuntiation.”³ Recognizing this, multilingual conversation manuals commonly began with instructions on correct pronunciation, and their authors worked to develop textual technologies that could communicate the sound of speech to their readers. Teachers and learners alike understood that without a grounding in the sound of speech, there could be no progress in the study of a foreign language.

Speech is not simply a communicative phenomenon but a sensory one. When early modern people spoke to each other, they heard meaning not only in the words that were used but also in the sound of those words. The sound of speech could convey reams of information apart from the words being spoken—from the speaker’s national or regional origins, status, and gender to their emotional state and their point of view. Work on early modern oralities and oral cultures has expanded in recent years.⁴ The histories of early modern Europe are increasingly abuzz with

2. John Wodroephe, *The Spared Houres of a Souldier in His Travels. Or The True Marrowe of the French Tongue, wherein is truely treated (by ordre) the Nine Parts of Speech. Together, with two rare, and excellent Bookes of Dialogues* (Dordrecht, 1623), 13.

3. Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America: Or, An help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America, called New-England* (London, 1643), sig. A8r.

4. For a foundational work on speech and orality in the early modern period, see Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York, 1982). On oral cultures in early modern England, see Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2000); and *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500–1850*, ed. Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester and New York, 2002). On accent, see Peter Burke, “A Civil Tongue: Language and Politeness in Early Modern Europe,” in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed. Peter Burke, Brian Harrison, and Paul Slack (Oxford, 2000), 40. For a recent collection of essays on early modern orality, see the *Journal of Early Modern History* 16, nos. 4–5 (January 2012), special issue, “Speech and Oral Culture in Early Modern Europe and Beyond,” ed. Elizabeth Horodowich.

voices. By paying attention to the role played by variables of tone, accent, stress, and pronunciation, we can better understand the words uttered by those voices.

How do we begin to access the sound of speech in the past? Almost all of the words spoken in the time before audio recording technologies are lost to us. Of the vanishingly small number that remain, the documents in which they are preserved—however colorful—rarely contain the kind of aural, nonverbal information discussed here: we may have access to the script, but the performance is lost. This essay looks to a genre of early modern print that was intimately concerned with questions of accent and pronunciation. These texts are multilingual conversation manuals: the printed texts that offered dialogues and phrases, usually in parallel columns, for language learners.⁵ These texts occupied a small but significant niche in the market. Over three hundred were printed in the period between 1480 and 1715, providing instructions in languages from French, Italian, and Dutch to Malay and Narragansett.⁶

These books were concerned with the sound of speech for two main reasons. First, and fundamentally, correct pronunciation made communication possible. Second, the ability to speak with a prestige accent conferred social capital on the speaker. The early modern period witnessed the elaboration of prestige standards in European vernaculars and a growing sense that social prestige could be communicated through the variety of language one spoke.⁷ The author of a 1623 Spanish-language conversation manual offered the cautionary tale of the duc de Maine and his entourage, who had studied Spanish for six months at Paris before departing on embassy, only to find on their arrival that “in stead of admiring, every one laught at them, hearing their bad accent, worse pronunciation, and worst phrase.”⁸

This essay uses conversation manuals to try to understand the importance of accent and pronunciation in the multilingual speechscapes of early modern Europe. First, it looks at how these books taught correct pronunciation, considering both the methods used by authors to illustrate the sound of speech and the marks made by readers who wanted to make the information on the printed page usable in their oral

5. For a perspective drawn from historical linguistics on these texts' relationship with the spoken word, see Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö, *Early Modern English Dialogues: Spoken Interaction as Writing* (Cambridge, 2010), 21–60. See also Birte Bös, “What Do You Lacke? What Is It You Buy? Early Modern English Service Encounters,” in *Methods in Historical Pragmatics*, ed. Susan Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen (Berlin and New York), 224.

6. John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford, forthcoming 2019), chap. 2.

7. The literature on individual language histories is too vast to cover here, but some helpful starting points in English are Peter Rickard, *A History of the French Language* (London and New York, 1989); Martin Maiden, *A Linguistic History of Italian* (London and New York, 1995); Paula Blank, *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings* (London and New York, 1996); and Charles Barber, *Early Modern English* (Edinburgh, 1997).

8. Juan de Luna, *A Short and Compendious Art for to Learne to Reade, Write, Pronounce and Speake the Spanish Tongue. Composed by John de Luna of Castile, Interpreter of the Spanish Tongue in London* (London, 1623), sig. B2r.

and aural contexts. A printed text, though, was no replacement for a living voice—a fact commonly recognized by authors of conversation manuals. So, in the second section, this essay turns to the kind of reading demanded by these manuals: one in which voices outside the text—whether of teachers or polyglot acquaintances—could “activate” the printed material and teach correct speech. Finally, we turn to the teaching of French in Restoration London and a moment when this relationship between voices and books led to the elaboration of new approaches to print, prestige, and authority.

☞ Pronunciation in Print

Language-teaching texts were not produced for silent readers: they anticipated a kind of “noisy reading.”⁹ They provided language to be used in oral contexts. The reader of J. G. van Heldoren’s *English and Nether-dutch Dictionary* (1675) could avail of a collection of bilingual interjections and ejaculations. Van Heldoren helpfully explained that the English “Oh, oh!” could be rendered in Dutch as “og, og!”; “Ah, ah, alas” as “Agh, agh, helaas,” “Oh me” as “ogh my,” and “Woo, O God!” as “Wee, o Godt!” The English reader in need of a translation of “Ha, ha, ha, he” into Dutch would have found it: “Ha, ha, ha, he.”¹⁰ One sixteenth-century Italian grammar taught readers to make the sounds “[o]f intreating or deprecation, as *eh, deh, di gratia* I pray you. Of laughing to scorne, as *ghieu, ghieu, vah, lima lima, pih*”; a seventeenth-century counterpart included “Ah, ah, h [sic]” (“ha, ha, ha”), “Eh” for “how,” “Fuí, fui” for “fie, fie,” among other interjections used to express “sorrow or joy, admiration or disdain, provocation or intreaty, as occasion serves.”¹¹ The inclusion of these non- or quasi-verbal sounds reminds us that authors of conversation manuals wanted their readers to be able to speak, not just read or write.

Almost every manual published in this period (along with many grammars and dictionaries) offered some instructions on correct pronunciation of the language to be learned. Alongside explicit pronunciation instructions, authors attempted to develop textual technologies that would aid readers in speaking the words of the text aloud. Imitating or superseding these authors’ devices, individual readers modified their books to optimize them for speech. It was common for authors of conversation manuals and grammars to walk their readers through the letters of the alphabet in a foreign language, giving instructions on the pronunciation of each. They described the sounds of letters either by analogy with English counterparts (or, indeed, with words in Latin or Greek, or in other vernaculars), or sometimes more opaquely, as

9. On “noisy reading,” see Margaret Aston, “Epilogue,” in *The Uses of Script and Print*, ed. Crick and Walsham, 278–79.

10. J. G. van Heldoren, *A New and Easy English Grammar . . . Whereunto is added a Nomenclature, English and Dutch* (Amsterdam, 1675), 80–82.

11. John Sanford, *A Grammer or Introduction to the Italian Tongue* (London, 1605), 38; Giovanni Torriano, *Della Lingua Toscana-Romana. Or, an Introduction to the Italian Tongue* (London, 1657), 229–31.

when Scipione Lentulo wrote in his Italian grammar that “O and E are pronounced somtymes more darkely, and sometymes more clearly.”¹² Adjectives like “clear” and “dark,” or “open” and “closed,” were likely of limited use without a teacher or a native speaker to explain their significance. Readers could supplement the aids provided in the text. Writing in a copy of Paul Festeau’s *French Grammar* (the third edition, published in 1675), one reader made handwritten notes inside the cover on the pronunciation of diphthongs, writing for instance that Æ “is pronounced like a single e as Ænée Æneas, read Enée” (fig. 1). They also heavily annotated the material on pronunciation that opened the book, marking particular words and phrases, and adding explanatory notes: next to Festeau’s “(Au) is pronounced like (o) long, as *Là haut*, above. say *La hô*,” this reader has written “or ow.” They underlined particular words used as examples, and expanded on Festeau’s explanations, adding an example (“in benè”) above Festeau’s instruction that “The *é Masculine* is pronounced as the Latin *e*.” The reader also made notes in their own terms next to Festeau’s rules: “long,” “open,” “broad,” “is not pronounced” (fig. 2).

Some authors preferred physiological instructions to teaching pronunciation by analogy. Guillaume Ledoyen de la Pichonnaye, in his *Playne Treatise to Learne in a Short Space the French Tongue* (1576), wrote that “A, Is pronounced playnely of the Frenche men, opening a little more the mouth than Englishmen doe,” predating John Milton’s theories on the different sounds of European languages (broadly, that southern Europeans opened their mouths more widely than their northern counterparts because their climate and air were warmer) by almost seventy years.¹³ In his quadrilingual *Campo di Fior* (1583), Claudius Hollyband dramatized the process of learning one’s letters in a foreign language, with a student asking their teacher “[h]owe these letters shalbe named by me,” and the teacher urging them to “[m]arke diligently how I move my mouth,” and to “[l]ooke well what gesture I make with my mouth.”¹⁴ In the absence of a teacher’s physical presence, Hollyband could offer instructions on how the learner should move their mouth: in one of his Italian–English manuals, he gave instructions on the pronunciation of *gl* in Italian:

You shall not pronounce *figliuolo, meglio*, & such like, as the first sillable of glistering in english: but melting, l, in your mouth, you must pronounce it with the flat of your tongue, touching smothly the roofoe of the mouth: thus: *melio, filiolo*: sound such as your *Scalion, Scolion, collier*, and such like.¹⁵

12. Lentulo, *Italian Grammer*, 17.

13. Guillaume Ledoyen de la Pichonnaye, *A Playne Treatise to Learne in a Short Space the Frenche Tongue* (London, 1576), sig. B1r; John Milton, *Of Education* (London, 1644), 3–4.

14. Claudius Hollyband, *Campo di Fior or else The Flourie Field of Foure Languages* (London, 1583), 115.

15. Claudius Hollyband, *The Italian Schoole-maister* (London, 1597), sig. B2v.

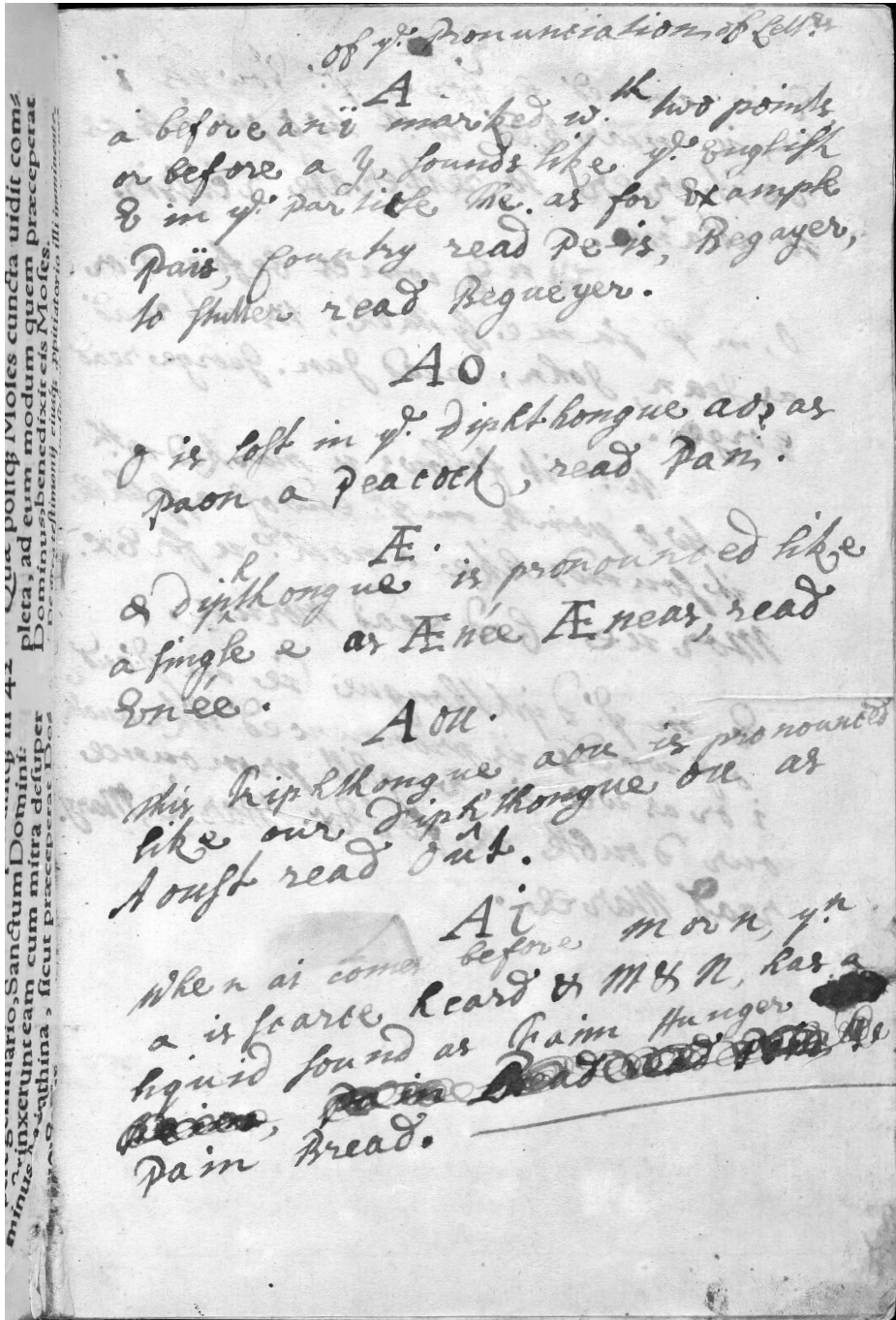


FIGURE 1. Paul Festeau, *Paul Festeau's French Grammar*, 3rd ed. (London, 1675), front free endpaper. Cambridge University Library, BB⁵.5.42(F). Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

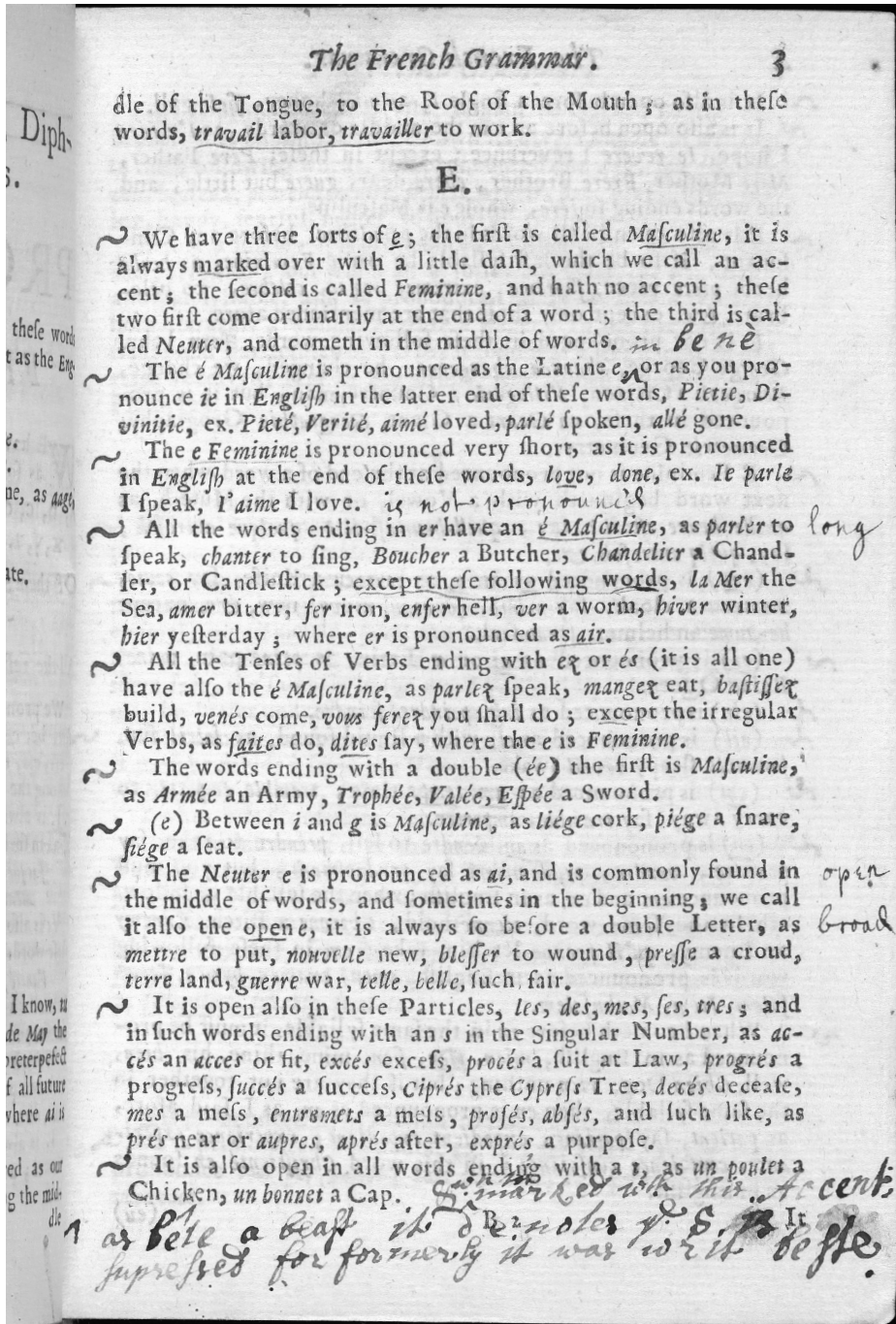


FIGURE 2. Paul Festeau, *Paul Festeau's French Grammar*, 3rd ed. (London, 1675), 3. Cambridge University Library, BB*.5.42(F). Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Advising his readers on the pronunciation of the accented *a* in Italian, Giovanni Torriano wrote that “[i]t is sounded more remissely in words that are accented, yet with a certaine jerke of the tongue which is caused of the Accent.”¹⁶ Just as books of dance “measures” or lute music could train the reader’s body to move in particular ways, so language books trained the mouth and tongue.¹⁷

Readers who had grasped the basic principles of pronouncing French or Italian could proceed to reading the phrases and dialogues of their conversation manuals. These sections aimed to teach readers to produce grammatically accurate and socially appropriate speech. Authors developed a number of crutches aimed at helping the reader speak these texts aloud. In a number of his French texts, Hollyband developed a method whereby silent letters were indicated with a dot or small *x* below the letter (fig. 3). This seems to have become something of a calling card for Hollyband—he even marked silent letters in this manner in the French-language preface to his *Treatise for Declining of Verbes* (London, 1580), a part of the text that seems less likely than his dialogues to have been spoken aloud (fig. 4). To read a text thus marked, even silently, was to be constantly reminded of questions of oral usage.

In his second Italian dictionary, published in 1611, John Florio added acute accents to show which syllables were stressed in Italian words, as in “Fascináre” and “Fascícolo.”¹⁸ A similar approach was taken in the English edition of César Oudin’s *Grammar Spanish and English* (1622), so that “An ill paymaster never wants excuses; are you perfect in your yesterdaies lesson?” is represented as “*Al mal pagadór núnca le fáltan escúsas, sábe vuésa mercéd la lición de ayér?*”¹⁹ A curious section in Giovanni Torriano’s *New and Easie Directions for Attaining the Thuscan Italian Tongue* (1639), borrowed and adapted from Lorenzo Franciosini, described itself as a “Dictionarie,” but was actually an attempt to offer rules for where the stress fell in Italian words depending on their endings, including an index of endings so that readers could easily look up the correct pronunciation of a new word.²⁰ Concerns with stress were shared by readers. Isaac Casaubon, as well as annotating his copy of Francis Bacon’s *Advancement of Learning* in Latin and Greek, also “marked (or had someone mark for him) the accented syllable of every word with more than one syllable, suggesting that he read it aloud and used the text, at least in part, to practice his pronunciation of English.”²¹ Similarly, in a copy of John Florio’s *Second Frutes* (1593), a reader has

16. Giovanni Torriano, *New and Easie Directions for Attaining the Thuscan Italian Tongue* (London, 1639), 3.

17. Elizabeth Kenny, “Revealing Their Hand: Lute Tablatures in Early Seventeenth-Century England,” *Renaissance Studies* 26 (February 2012): 112–37.

18. John Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words* (London, 1611), 181.

19. César Oudin, *A Grammar Spanish and English: or A Briefe and compendious Method, teaching to reade, write, speake, and pronounce the Spanish Tongue* (London, 1622), 217, 216.

20. Torriano, *New and Easie Directions*, 37–75.

21. William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2008), 13–15.

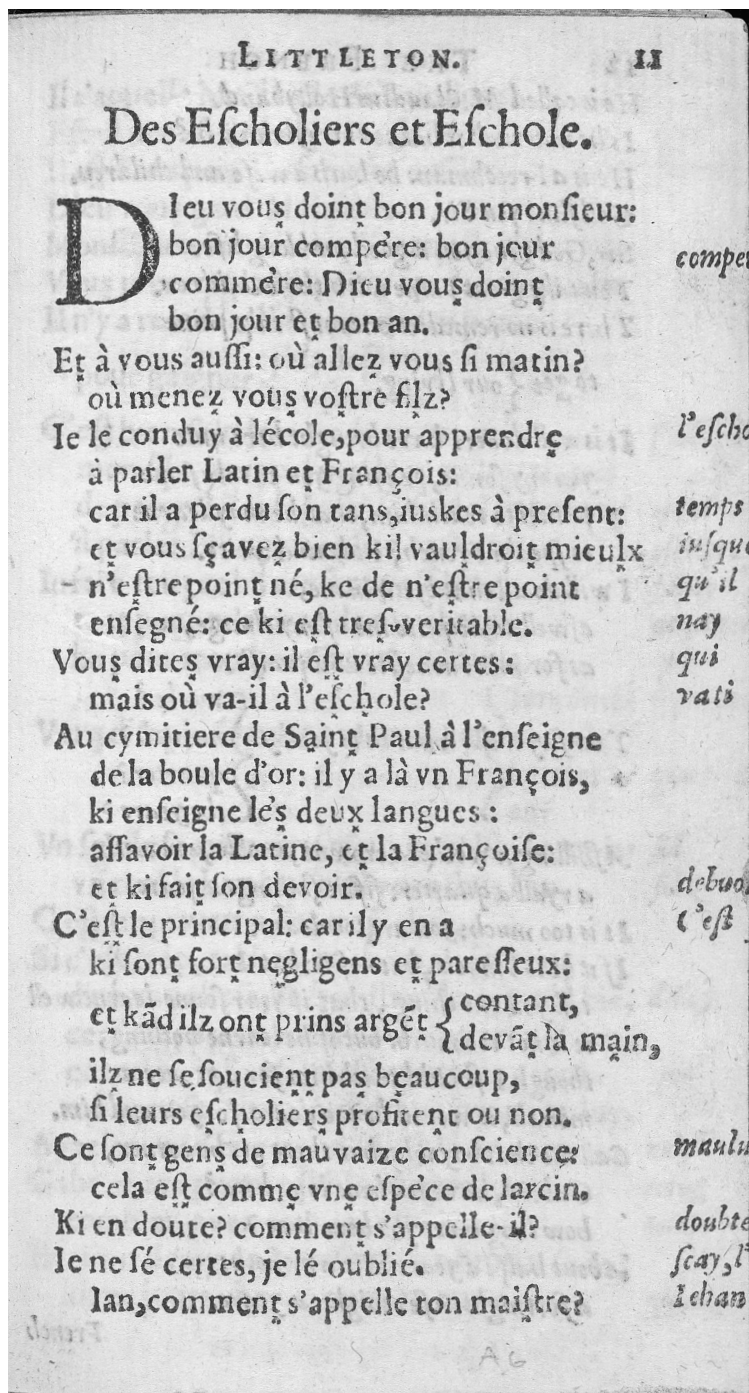


FIGURE 3. Claudius Hollyband, *The French Littleton* (London, 1597), 11. Cambridge University Library, Pet. E.5.2. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

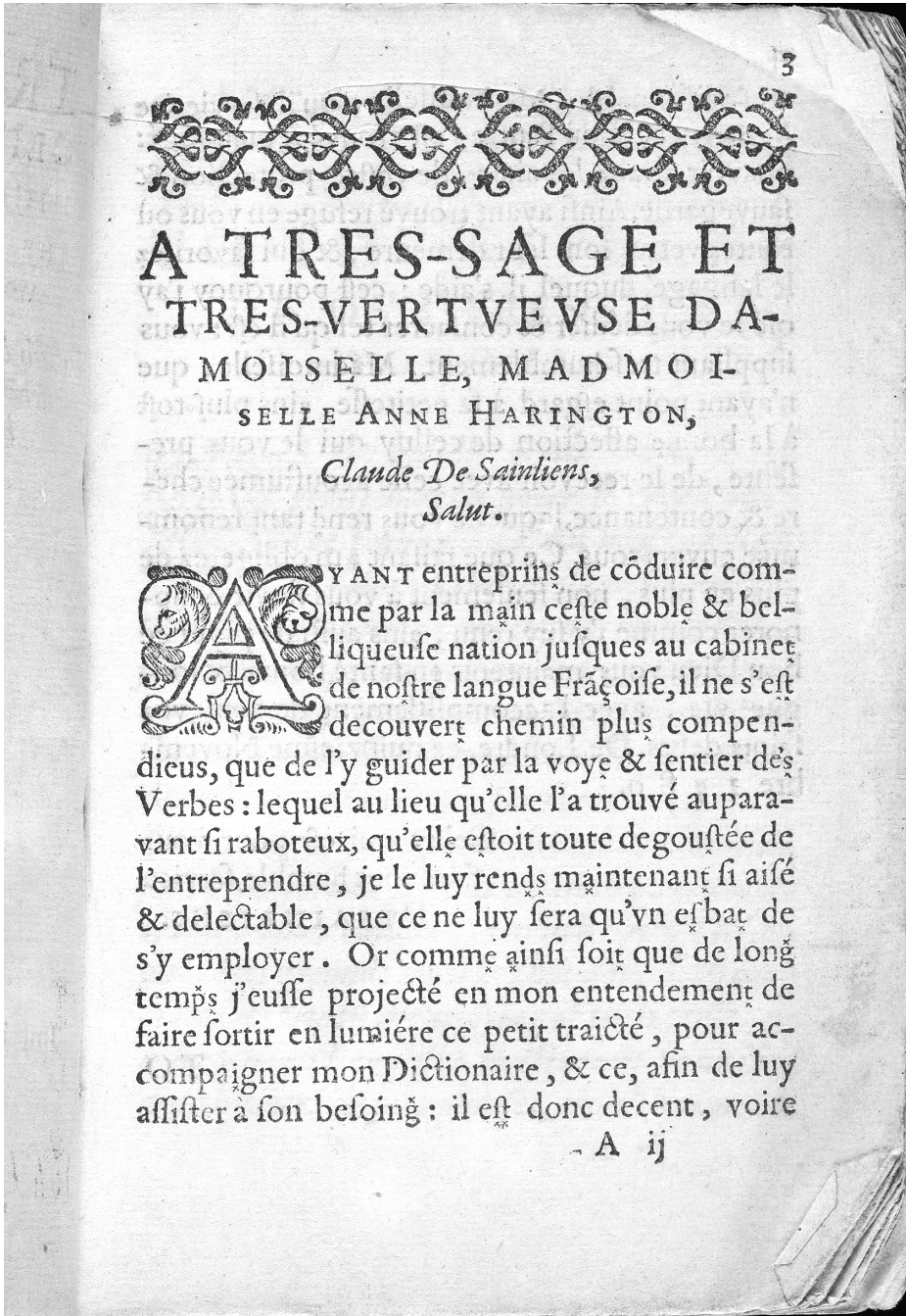


FIGURE 4. Claudius Hollyband, *A Treatise for Declining of Verbes* (London, 1580), sig. A2r. Cambridge University Library, Pet. E.5.3. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

hand-marked the stresses in words, for example, “faréi,” “spaventévoli,” and “levárvi” to aid with pronunciation (figs. 5 and 6). These stress marks were used by both teachers and learners to make printed texts easier to read aloud. Where the technologies of the text proved inadequate, readers could intervene to make their manuals usable in oral contexts.

The pronunciation-minded reader also underlined the word “lascio” and wrote “Lashio” in the margin, while crossing out the silent *h* letters in “ho hauuti.” Above the word *gucchia*, they added “oo” and “keea”; they introduced punctuation, too—the insertion of a comma into “Io non ho, ne ago, ne rese, ne ditale,” and the crossing-out of the *h* in “ho,” both hint at the usage of this text for the kind of oral practice represented in classroom and lesson dialogues in other manuals. The annotator modified the long *s* in “Cosi” (and “raso”) so that it looked like a *z*. This mirrored the technique employed by Hollyband in his French manuals, where he frequently wrote *k* for the French *qu*, and *z* for *s*, as well as modifying the spelling of his French throughout (while including the standard spelling, which he described as “the old and ancient orthographie of our tongue,” in the margins). In Hollyband’s French, “he hath lost his time till now” is rendered as “il a perdu son tans, juskes à present,” with “temps” and “iusques” in the margin next to the French text.²² Phonetic and oral concerns crowded out even correct orthography. Attempts like these to offer phonetic guidance on pronunciation appear throughout the corpus of conversation manuals. John Wodroephe’s work (fig. 7) shows the pitfalls of attempting to cram too much linguistic and phonetic information onto the printed page: he tried to place English and French texts atop one another, with some notes in the right-hand margin, and notes on phonetic pronunciation (for instance, giving “O See-el” for “au Ciel”) in the left-hand margin, with each note linked to the text by a capital letter. The result is almost unusably confused but represents one attempt to incorporate some instruction in pronunciation into the body of a language-learning text.

A more successful attempt was that of Jacques Bellot, a French Protestant whose *Familiar Dialogues* (1586) was an English–French manual aimed at newly arrived French immigrants. Bellot’s title page advertised his distinct approach: its three columns give the text in English, in French, and then again in English written phonetically, such that speaking the combinations of letters as they would be pronounced in French would produce something close to the correct English sound. Thus “Familiar Dialogues, for the Instruction of the^m, that be desirous to learne to speake English, and perfectlye to pronounce the same” is rendered as “Familiier Deialogs for dé Instruction of dem, dat by desireus to lérne tou spék English, and perfetlé tou pronónce dé sem.”²³ Martin Aedler’s *High Dutch Minerva*, the first

22. Claudius Hollyband, *The Frenche Littelton. A Most Easie, Perfect, and Absolute Way to learne the frenche tongue* (London, 1597), 9, 10–11.

23. Jacques Bellot, *Familiar Dialogues, for the Instruction of the[m], that be desirous to learne to speake English, and perfectly to pronou[n]ce the same* (London, 1586), title page.

2

Italiano.



Capitolo primo delleuare la mattina, e di
ciò che appariene alla camera, et al
vestire, tra Nolano, Torquato,
e Rufpa seruitore.

- N. **O** La, Signor Torquato, dormirete voi tutto hoggi?
T. Chi è la? chi mi chiama? chi mi domanda?
N. Un vostro amico: Amici: Son io: Sete leuato?
T. Chi sete? che domandate? ch'andate cercando?
N. Buon dia v. S. Sr. Torquato: dormite voi ancora?
T. O iscusate mi, Sr. Nolano: ch'hor hora farò leuato.
N. Leuateui a vostro bell'agio: ch'io v'aspetterò bene.
T. Adesso, adesso vengo ad aprirui.
N. Non tanta fretta: nò.
T. Ecco la porta aperta, entri v. s.
N. Dio vi dia il buon giorno,
T. Cosi ancor' a v. s. siate il molto ben venuto.
N. Grammerce, non erauate ancora leuato?
T. Non certo. signor no. non è gia così tardi.
N. Non haucte vergogna à star tanto in letto?
T. Io non dormino: non faceuo che sonnacchiare.
N. Mi pare che tutta via siate sonnacchioso.
T. Io non son' ancora ben ben desto.
N. O se la poltroneria fosse virtu: quanti virtuosi sarebber' al mondo.
T. Egli è peccato: perché io farèi nel numero di essi.
N. Voi haucte falto la robba, hor potete far, la persona.
T. Io faccio la persona, e lascio far la robba ad altri.
N. Come haucte riposato questa notte?
T. Bene, ma ho hauidi molti spauentevoli sogni.
N. Donereste leuarui con l' Aurora, amica delle misse.
T. Così son solito à fare, ma hier sera andai tardi a letto.

Lohioy

The

FIGURE 5. John Florio, *Florio's Second Frutes* (London, 1591). Cambridge University Library, Pet. B.4.35, 2. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

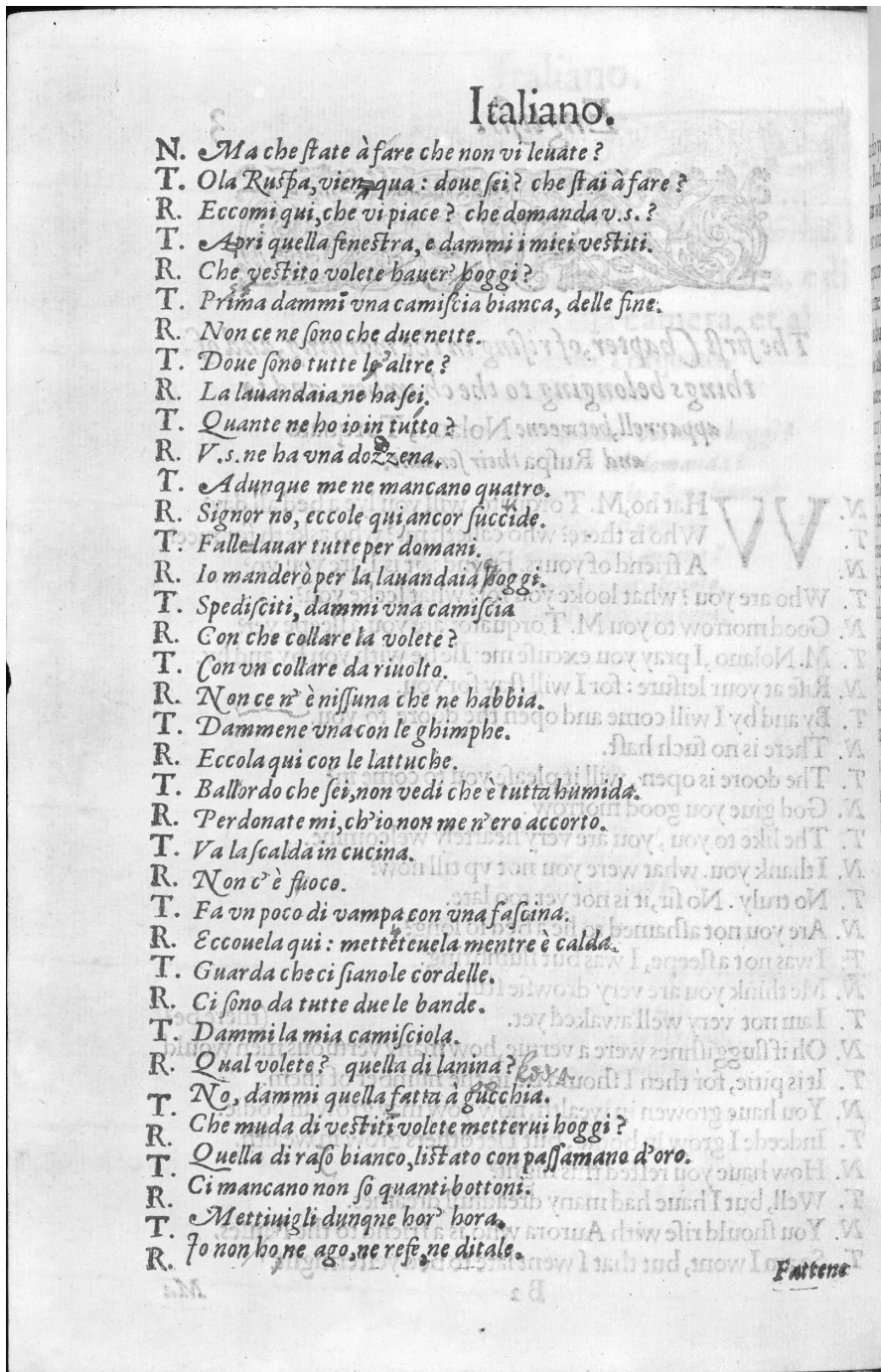


FIGURE 6. John Florio, *Florios Second Frutes* (London, 1591), Cambridge University Library, Pet. B.4.35, 4. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

The Pronunciation of the French tongue.

THIS small Worke of the Pronunciation (louing Countriman) will not be a litle profitable vnto thee, because thou shalt find the true Nature of the french word Englished to thee ouer the top of it verbatim: and also the true phraze thus marked* on the lower Margen. Also the true English found in Sillables vpon the vpper Margen, where by thou mayest attaine to the right Pronunciation of the French with in the Page thus led by the Order of the [A, (B, (C, to leade thee there vnto; not omiting any Letter in the Orthographie ; but euen as the Frenches do truly write them themselues; which shal be twice more Profit vnto thee, in learning it in this Manner , though tediously, as I confesse, then to follow the only doubtful Tracke of the Phraze, not knowing its true Nature; which sundry [here to fore] haue taught (sparing the marrow of their famous Braines. But belieue me (if thou followest a generous Curiositie for to learne to write thy Mind any where so wel as to speake it) thou shalt not find thy Paines lost. I desire all Affable and humble Censurers; who haue tried both wayes (to wit Verbatim and phraze) to tollerat this Fashion of Doing, & consider the Danger of those who hazard to teach without Reason, to tell That Verbatim sometyes must be had, because it is requisite, that it should not be alwayes closed vp in a Phraze, but shewed bare, as it fals very often; then [nil thou wilt thou] thou must haue a coat to couer it, that is to say His true Signification, or else thou must leaue it, and run to the Dictionary, and dazle thy eyes there a while, and be euen so wise as thou wast before : for sometyes they are not to be found at all in it , and sometyes it will fall in some tense of some Mood which no Dictionary can yeald, yea euen thousands. Thou hast in this Booke all household stufte , and other pretty necessary words meeete for thy dayly vse in this Tongue. Also an Introduction to learne to frame all common and ordinarie Phrases pertaining to a house: as of Vituals dressing, voyaging through the land. Also the partes, and cloathing of a Man his body all in remarkable phrases, where of I will shiew thee vively , yea euery Member from the Crowne of the Head vnto the Foot, with either the Article, or the Pronowme for to leade the to the same in his right Gender: to wit [Le shewing thee when the Nowme is masc. and (la when it is demonstrated fe-with (Mon, and (Ma pronowmes in like forte [when they are requisite] before the said Nowmes. And as for the plurall, it is but adding this litle (s, which can also shiew thee when they are plurall seruing for both genders: and this [Masc. and fem. to shiew thee when the Articles & Pronowmes do not preceede the Nowmes.

NOur helpe and Beginning be in the Name of God which hath made the
OSTRE aide et commencement soit au Nom de Dieu qui a fait le
 Heauen and the Earth, So be it.
Ciel et la Terre, Ainsi soit il.

God giue me the * to him know, and also my selfe worthily.
Dieu me face la Grace de le B cognoistre et aussi moy mesme dignement.

God: God the Father, God the Sone, and God the holy Ghost. The the of God.
Dieu: Dieu le Pere, Dieu le C Fils, et Dieu le saint Esprit. La Trinite, le D Throne de Dieu.

The A the An Archangell, the An Angell, the Lord.
Les Seraphins, Vn E Cherubin, les Cherubins. Vn Archange, les Archanges. Vn Ange, les

A patriarke, the
A patriarke, les Patriarches.

F. Patriarsh.
F. Anges. Vn patriarche, les Patriarches.

A the An Apostle, the An the
Vn Prophete, les Prophetes. Vn G Apostre, les Apostres. Vn Euangiliste, les Euangilistes.

G. Apotre
 A the The twelue Apostles of our Lord, Sauour, and Redemcur
Vn Martyr, les Martyrs. Les Douze Apostres de nostre Seigneur, Et Sauueur, et Redemcur
 sittingh in heauen at the Right hand of God his Father.
Iesus Christ [assis au Ciel] a la Dextre de Dieu son Pere.

The Heauens, the or the cope, or Scope. A the The Sunne, the Moone.
Les K Cieux, le Firmament, ou l'Estendue, Vne Planette, les Planettes. Le Soleil, la Lune.

A Star, the The foure The fire, the Aire, the water, and the Earth, or land. All the Earth
Vne M Estoire, les Estaires. Les quatre Elemens, Le feu, l'Air, l'Eau, et la Terre. Toute la Terre,
 or the Vniuersall world.
ou l'Vniuers.

The world, the Sea, and the fishes. A Manthe A woman, or wife, the.
Le Monde, la Mer, & n les Poissons: Vn Homme, les Hommes. Vne Femme, les Femmes.

F. Femmes
 The 5. Senses of: The sight, the Hearing, the Smelling, the Taste and the feeling.
Les cinq Sens de Nature; La Veüe, l'Ouïe, l'odeur, le Goust & le Taict.

S. C. La veu, loce goot, K 4 A 07

FIGURE 7. John Wodroephe, *The Spared Houres of a Souldier in His Travels. Or The True Marrowe of the French Tongue*, wherein is truly treated (by ordre) the Nine Parts of Speech. Together, with two rare, and excellent Bookes of Dialogues (Dordrecht, 1623), 127. Cambridge University Library, Bb*.2.15(C). Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

bilingual English–German conversation manual published in England, contained a lengthy section on pronunciation for English learners of German, culminating in a “Pattern of the German Pronunciation,” in which Aedler included the Apostolic Creed, “the Summe of the Law of God taken out of Matth.,” and the Lord’s Prayer, each in two columns—one in standard German orthography, and one spelled phonetically for English readers. In this form, the first line of the Creed ran “ig ghlou-wey aun Gut dane vauter, oll-magh-e-ghen shoepf-er das him-mels und dare ar-den.”²⁴ Aedler’s provision of phonetically spelled religious materials harked back to the fact that many early modern people would have achieved basic literacy in their first language (or, indeed, in Latin) through the reading of catechisms and prayer texts.²⁵ Those early links between the printed and the spoken word—a learner coming to associate shapes with sounds—were remodeled for the language learners who studied conversation manuals.

For learners of English, difficulties caused by the gap between the appearance of words in English and their sounds are not a recent development. Authors who included material for learners of English faced the problem of irregular English orthography. Van Heldoren, writing for Dutch learners of English, included a list of “Woorden die men anders schrijft als men spreckts,” English words that are not written as they are spoken. He arranged his examples alphabetically in three columns: the first gave the English word, the second a phonetic representation of it for Dutch speakers, and the third its translation in Dutch. So, van Heldoren first gave “Chirurgion,” then “Sur-jun,” then “*genees-meester*”; and “Five-pence,” “Fip-ence,” and “*vijf stuyvers*.”²⁶ Over a century earlier, John Florio had appended a guide to the English language to the end of his *Firste Fruites* for the use of Italians who had need of the language. He was sensitive to the specific issues faced by Italian learners of English, writing for instance that “The letter *h* is of great ornament to the English language, and is the most difficult letter for Italians to pronounce, because it is of great power, especially in words like these: *Thou*, tú, *that*, quello, *this*, questo.” This “th” sound could be pronounced by “holding the teeth almost together while resting the tip of the tongue between them, and speaking suddenly withdraw it backwards, and rest it on

24. Martin Aedler, *The High Dutch Minerva A-La-Mode or A Perfect Grammar never extant before, whereby the English may both easily and exactly learne the Neatest Dialect of the German Mother-Language used throughout All Europe* (London, 1680), 43–45. On Aedler and his text, see Fredericka van der Lubbe, *Martin Aedler and the High-Dutch Minerva: The First German Grammar for the English* (Oxford, 2007).

25. On catechisms, see Ian Green, *The Christian’s ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530–1740* (Oxford, 1996). For recent exciting work on orality and literacy in relation to prayer, see Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer* (Cambridge, 2012).

26. J. G. van Heldoren, *An English and Nether-dutch Dictionary / Een Engels en Nederduits Woortboek* (Amsterdam, 1675), sigs. O4v–O6v.

the palate of the mouth.”²⁷ Florio went further, recognizing that (particularly by contrast with Italian) English orthography represented a challenge to language learners. To help them, he included a bizarre-looking list of English syllables—some words, some simply sounds—since “he who knows well how to pronounce these knows how to pronounce the whole language” (fig. 8). Florio’s sound-sheets may look more like nonsense poetry than language pedagogy, but—like so many of these schemes—they represented a sincere attempt to bridge the gap between written and spoken language in a genre of text that engaged oral and written cultures in a unique way.

Speaking Books

Even as their books offered instruction in correct pronunciation, authors of language-learning texts were increasingly explicit about the inadequacy of the printed text when it came to teaching the sound of speech. The Frenchman de la Mothe, proprietor of a school in St. Paul’s Churchyard at the end of the sixteenth century, warned readers of his manual: “do not thinke that my booke is able by it selfe to make you a good Frenchman.”²⁸ Hollyband—another teacher working in the shadow of Paul’s—was similarly circumspect about the ability of print to represent sounds, writing of the letter *Z* in Italian that “it is needefull for the learner of the saide language, to heare it by mouth.”²⁹ Language-learning manuals developed into a genre of texts with a unique position in the relationship between the worlds of orality, aurality, and print. They were texts that demanded to be complemented by the sound of actual speech: their teaching materials were designed to be “activated” by voices external to the text.

The oral deficit of language-learning texts could be remedied by what Claude Mauger called “the Living Voice of a Master,” which he admitted was “better, then all that can be set down in writing.”³⁰ Oral practice was central to early modern language-teaching practices, and even translation exercises commonly had a spoken element.³¹ Relationships between teachers and students were, first and foremost, relationships of speech. The French teacher Ledoyen de la Pichonnaye said that he had undertaken to write his grammar “[a]t the request of many Lords and Gentlemen, wyth whome I have spent much tyme, being conversant and communicating with them, of the pronounciation of our tongue.”³² The oral practices that animated the early modern classroom were often represented in the dialogues found in conver-

27. John Florio, *Florio His Firste Fruites* (London, 1578), fols. 161r, 161r–v. Translations from Florio are mine. If you’ve just tried to follow Florio’s instructions yourself, you will now have a keener sense of just how these texts were able to move and shape the early modern reader’s mouth and tongue.

28. G. D. L. M. N. [G. de la Mothe], “An Epistle to the Reader,” in *The French Alphabet, Teaching in a Very Short Time, by a most easie way, to pronounce French naturally, to reade it perfectly, to write it truly, and to speake it accordingly* (London, 1633), sig. A6r.

29. Hollyband, *Italian Schoole-maister*, sig. B3r.

30. Claude Mauger, *The True Advancement of the French Tongue* (London, 1652), 6.

31. Culpeper and Kytö, *Early Modern English Dialogues*, 40–49.

32. Ledoyen de la Pichonnaye, *Playne Treatise*, sig. A7v.

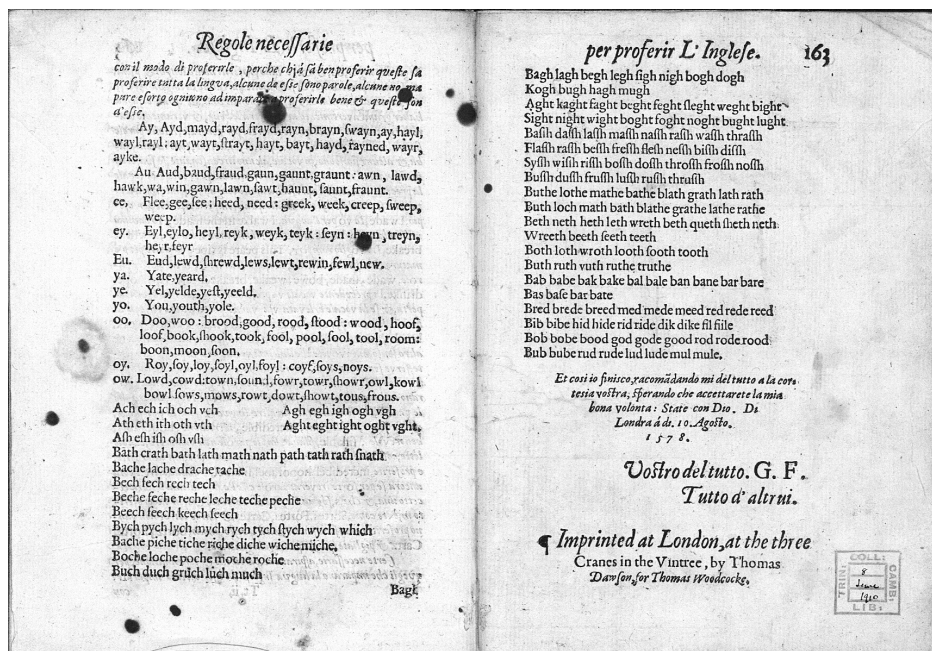


FIGURE 8. John Florio, *Florio His Firste Fruites* (London, 1578), fols. 162v–63r. Cambridge University Library, VI.1.103. Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

sation manuals. Their teaching scenes, often written by working teachers, show students and teachers engaged in conversation and oral practice. In his *French Garden* (1605), a text aimed mainly at female language-learners, Pierre Erondell included an exchange in which a teacher listens to a pupil reading aloud, correcting their pronunciation:

Mistres Fleurimond read first, speake somewhat lower, to th'end I may heare if you pronounce well: say that worde againe. Wherefore do you sound that s? Doe you not knowe that it must be left? Well, it is well said, read with more facilitie, without taking such paines: doe not haste so much[.]

A teacher could explain and demonstrate correct pronunciation while correcting their student's speech; in Erondell's classroom, the teacher also has a more advanced student comment on her younger sister's pronunciation while listening to her reading aloud.³³

33. Peter Erondell, *The French Garden: for English Ladyes and Gentlewomen to walke in* (London, 1605), sigs. F6v, Gv.

The teacher's oral instructions could be supplemented by oral and aural experience of foreign languages in use. The polyglot cities of early modern England could be pedagogical resources for a diligent student, and manuals often attempted to send their readers into the noisy world in search of linguistic experience. Torriano's advice to his readers was bullish and urged active oral practice, arguing that

if you would be perfect in speaking [Italian], let no opportunity passe, nor the feare of erring withdraw your purpose; for I have daily experience of many that will not attempt speech, because they mistrust they shall not utter it perfectly; but such in my opinion would faine swim before they goe into the water.³⁴

But what kind of opportunities for language learning existed in early modern England? The anonymous compiler of *A Plaine Pathway to the French Tongue* (1575) suggested that the reader supplement their study of the rules of French pronunciation with "a little labour and leasure bestowed in the company of some Frenche man, without which no booke can throughlie instruct him"—it was only the company of a native speaker that could make the reader "a perfect utterer of the speach."³⁵ De la Mothe set out a set of social activities to be undertaken by a student once they were "pretily furthered" in French:

get you acquainted, if it be possible, with some French man, to the end you may practise with him, by daily conference together, in speech and talke, what you have learned.³⁶

Language teaching was one way in which a significant number of French immigrants in early modern England made their living.³⁷ Many more may have been engaged in informal language-learning relationships like those urged by de la Mothe, whether out of friendship or for a fee. At Oxford, Henry Wotton used his friendship with the Italian professor of civil law, Alberico Gentili, as a means of practicing the language.³⁸ It is reasonable to assume that those English speakers who engaged in multilingual

34. Torriano, *New and Easie Directions*, sig. A6r.

35. Anon., *A Plaine Pathway to the French Tongue: Very profitable for Marchants, and also all other, which desire this same* (London, 1575), sig. Aiiir.

36. De la Mothe, "An Epistle to the Reader," *French Alphabet*, sig. A7v.

37. On language teachers in early modern England, see Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, chap. 1.

38. Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558–1642: An Essay on Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford, 1959), 140.

personal, commercial, and political correspondence may have had similarly polyglot oral and face-to-face relationships.³⁹

These oral experiences remained tied to the text. As well as cultivating personal relationships with native speakers, de la Mothe advised his readers to bring their books to spaces where they might hear the language, saying,

if you be in place, where the Frenchmen have a Church for themselves, as they have in London, get you a French Bible, or a new Testament, and every day go both to their Lecture and Sermons. The one will confirme and strengthen your pronunciation, and the other cause you to understand when one doth speake.⁴⁰

So, London's "stranger churches" could be sites of language learning: the Italian church at Mercers' Hall was initially founded for "the Italone and other worthy personages of this realme that have the use of that tonge," and by 1570 Roger Ascham was criticizing those English people who attended its services in order "to heare the Italian tonge naturally spoken, not to heare Gods doctrine trewly preached."⁴¹ Attendance by multilingual English people at the French church in the Savoy seems to have been common in the seventeenth century—Samuel Pepys, Edward Browne, and John Evelyn all recorded having heard sermons there.⁴² Sermon hearing and language learning remained linked by the beginning of the eighteenth century, when an Italian teacher and minister named Laurentio Casotti advertised his Italian-language sermons and offered his sermon texts for sale.⁴³ De la Mothe's recommended practice—complementing the reading of a foreign-language text with the aural event of hearing a foreign-language service—was alive and well.

Early modern conversation manuals modeled a unique relationship between the worlds of print and speech. Not simply texts meant to be read aloud, these books were animated by the spoken word. If we explore how these texts were used in the classroom, the church, and the city, their relationship to these oral contexts reveals

39. For more on polyglot sociability in early modern England, see John Gallagher, "The Italian London of John North: Cultural Contact and Linguistic Encounter in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 70 (2017): 88–131.

40. De la Mothe, "An Epistle to the Reader," *French Alphabet*, sig. A7v.

41. O. Boersma and A. J. Jelsma, *Unity in Multiformity: The Minutes of the Coetus of London, 1575 and the Consistory Minutes of the Italian Church of London, 1570–1591* (London, 1997), 23–24; Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London, 1570), fol. 28v.

42. *The Diary of John Evelyn, Selected and Introduced by Roy Strong*, ed. E. S. de Beer (London, 2006), 766; *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London, 1970–83), 3:207; Travel journal of Edward Browne (France), Sloane MS 1906, fol. 37r, British Library. On sermon hearing as a practice, see Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge, 2010).

43. *Post Man and the Historical Account* (London), no. 1724 (January 16–18, 1707); *Post Man and the Historical Account* (London), no. 1921 (July 6–8, 1708).

a new kind of early modern “noisy reading.” The authors of these texts acknowledged that, as texts alone, they were insufficient. In doing so, they pushed their readers into the oral and aural worlds in search of voices—of teachers, preachers, and acquaintances—that could activate them. These were not the only texts that required input from outside voices—we might think of other books commonly used in classrooms, of catechisms, or of musical texts.⁴⁴ But conversation manuals were texts that uniquely urged their readers to treat the aural urban environment as a pedagogical tool to be drawn on by the student. These sensory experiences turned silent texts into speaking books, and silent readers into speaking subjects.

Accent Wars in Restoration London

A case study that highlights the close relationship between voices and books in a multilingual context comes from the teaching of French in the Restoration. We begin in 1690, with the Glasgow-based French teacher Jean Pujolas, whose *Key of the French Tongue* advertised itself as “A New Method for learning it well, easily, in short time and almost without a Master.”⁴⁵ Pujolas’s “almost” was crucial: by this time, it was established that however good a language text, a language could not be learned without the aid of an authoritative voice. As the seventeenth century progressed and the educational economy of early modern England became increasingly competitive, language teachers used their manuals in increasingly sophisticated ways to advertise their ability to teach prestige language and to compete with each other about the authority of their voices. Printed books came to stand for the voices of their authors. The background to these printed debates—vocal in every sense of the word—stretches back at least to Hollyband, whose commercial savvy saw him marketing his own native French origins and the “pure” variety of French he claimed to teach. Hollyband was among the first (if not the first) to turn the failings of print to commercial advantage. In his *French Littelton* (first published in 1578), he boasted that

after that my scholars have framed their tongue by this booke, they are so far off to pronounce such letters which ought not, that when they heare any new scholar comming to me from other French schooles, and pronouncing any letter otherwise then it should be, they spie the fault as soone as I, yea they cannot abide it: & which is more, they will discerne whether the maister which taught them first, was a Burgonion, a Norman, or a Houyvet.⁴⁶

44. For other vocally oriented texts, see Reinburg, *French Books of Hours*; and Kate van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 2015).

45. Jean Pujolas, *The Key of the French Tongue; or, A New Method for learning it well, easily, in short time and almost without a Master* (Glasgow, 1690).

46. Hollyband, *French Littelton*, 5.

Hollyband's warning established three things: that there was a prestige variety of French, that Hollyband spoke it, and that to speak differently was cause for disdain by those in the know. Crucially, he also established that to speak a variety of French that was not socially approved could invite ridicule or embarrassment: not to speak the same French as Hollyband (who identified himself on the title page as a gentleman of Bourbon) was a "fault," something his students "cannot abide." By insisting that inappropriate speech was a sure recipe for social embarrassment, teachers could commodify the variety of French that they spoke and denigrate that of their rivals: it was another element of social or communicative competence in which they could corner the market (and one that could only be learned in person).⁴⁷

These concerns about accent and pronunciation—about the sound of correct speech—came to the fore in Restoration London, where a group of native French speakers made up the community described by Kathleen Lambley as "little Blois."⁴⁸ These teachers—Claude Mauger, Paul Festeau, Guy Miège (who was Swiss), Peter Berault, Abel Boyer, and others—concurred on the importance of a teacher's voice in learning the French language correctly. In this, they were in tune with a growing English obsession with the idea that certain accents were correct and prestigious. Mauger warned his pupils against teachers with less prestigious accents:

you must have a speciall care, that you have not to do with those that are not true French men, as your *Gascons*, and *Normans*. I confesse, a *Norman*, that is a man of some quality, or one that hath seen the world, or that is a good Scholler, may possibly have the right Accent: but any other, that hath not such parts, can never give the true Accent.⁴⁹

Guy Miège—a Swiss-born rival of Mauger in print—warned that the ability to teach "the true modern French" was "a Thing few people can boast of, besides Courtiers and Scholars, so nice a Language it is[.]" Undiscerning learners risked losing "their

47. The term "communicative competence" comes from the work of the sociolinguist Dell Hymes; see Dell Hymes, "On Communicative Competence," in Alessandro Duranti, *Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader* (Oxford, 2001), 53–73. For historical approaches to linguistic competence, see Gallagher, *Learning Languages*.

48. Kathleen Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times* (Manchester, 1920), 301–18. For debates about the best variety of spoken French in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, see Peter Rickard, *A History of the French Language* (London and New York, 1989), 81–119.

49. Mauger, *True Advancement*, 6. Similarly, the Italian teacher Casotti wrote that to learn Italian pronunciations well, "it is necessary to hear them from the Mouth of a good Master born in *Italy*, for I have found by Experience, that it hath been a great deal harder for me to Correct the bad Pronunciation of Scholars, that had Learn'd from Masters born in the Mountains of the *Grisons*, or in those of *Piedmont*, than it would have been, if they had never Learn'd before." Laurentio Casotti, *A New Method of Teaching the Italian Tongue to Ladies and Gentlemen* (London, 1709), 5.

time, pains, and mony amongst the common Sort of Teachers, who speak for the most part but a corrupt and Provincial French.”⁵⁰

Among seventeenth-century students of French, the best kind of language was thought to come from the towns of the Loire Valley, and Blois in particular, as well as from the French court and Paris, which grew in importance for language teachers toward the end of the century. Claude Mauger, who had taught French to English and German travelers in Blois before moving to England in around the early 1650s, played up to the English taste for Loire Valley French that had been evident since at least 1634, when a translation of Charles Maupas’s *French Grammar and Syntaxe* was published in London.⁵¹ Maupas might already have garnered something of a reputation as an authority thanks to Robert Sherwood’s description of him in his *French Tutour* (the first edition of which was published in 1625) as “a man well knowne to some of the greatest of this kingdome, (who have travelled) to be the learnedest and most expert Teacher of his tongue” and a source for Sherwood’s own manual.⁵² Paul Festeau, a contemporary and sometime collaborator of Mauger’s, described himself as “[n]ative of *Blois*, a City in *France* where the true tone of the *French Tongue* is found by the Unanimous consent of all *French-Men*”; the teachers of Festeau’s generation had made it their business to leverage that “Unanimous consent” into commercial advantage.⁵³ Mauger argued that the existence of the “little Blois” community could obviate the need to travel to France at all, rhetorically asking an English correspondent who wished to learn to speak French, “[i]f your affairs permit you not to go to Paris, to give your self to it, what need you care if you have Blois at London, which is its source?”⁵⁴

These teachers’ books—and their voices—derived their authority by their link to real-life prestige speech, and to the aural and geographical contexts that produced it. Festeau referred to a recent “journey to my birthplace of Blois” in the 1667 edition of his grammar, but it was Mauger who made this tactic a central plank of his claim to linguistic authority.⁵⁵ The tenth edition of his grammar, published in 1682, described

50. Guy Miège, *A New French Grammar; or, a New Method for Learning of the French Tongue* (London, 1678), sig. A5r.

51. Mauger’s time in Blois, during which he acted as French tutor to some members of the Verney family, is discussed in Mark Motley, “Educating the English Gentleman Abroad: The Verney Family in Seventeenth-Century France and Holland,” *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society* 23, no. 3 (1994): 243–56; Charles Maupas, *A French Grammar and Syntaxe Contayning most Exact and Certain Rules, for the Pronunciation, Orthography, Construction, and Use of the French Language* (London, 1634). For more on Mauger and his London career, see Gallagher, *Learning Languages*, chap. 1.

52. Robert Sherwood, *The French Tutour* (London, 1625), sig. A2r.

53. Paul Festeau, *Nouvelle Grammaire Françoisse* (London, 1679), title page.

54. Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger’s French and English Letters, upon All Subjects, mean and sublime*, 2nd ed. (London, 1676), 117.

55. “mon voyage à Blois lieu de ma naissance”; *New and Easie French Grammar* (London, 1667), sig. A5v.

Mauger as “the Author, Now Professor of the Languages at Paris,” and in the preface, he explained his recent absence from England:

I neglected *Blois*, where I had been so long formerly a Prefessor [*sic*], and came to *Paris*; and I frequented that Court, and those Courtiers whose Meen and Language is the Standard of all the politer part of *Europe*: For Tongues follow the Success of Arms, and amongst the Triumphant Laurels, are always found the best Flowers of Eloquence.⁵⁶

Mauger characterized his move to Paris as part of a linguistic fact-finding mission: a means of ensuring by the evidence of his own ears gathered at first hand that the French he taught was of the finest and—crucially—the most up-to-date variety. In 1686, Mauger assured readers that he had incorporated all he had learned at Paris into his grammar—and suggested that the shift toward Paris (rather than the Loire Valley) as displaying the gold standard of French expression was an established fact:

I being at *Paris*, that is the Center of the purity of our *French* Tongue, where the true Phrase is to be found, having corrected it exactly, all my Dialogues are Modish, there is not a word in them but Elegant.⁵⁷

By the end of the seventeenth century, the court and the city of Paris were increasingly considered to be where prestigious French was to be heard. By 1694, when the first edition of Abel Boyer’s *Compleat French-Master* appeared, he could advertise it as “[a] New Method, to Learn with ease and delight the French Tongue, as it is now spoken in the Court of *France*.”⁵⁸ Court French was now the yardstick against which English learners of French would be judged and the one that teachers were bound to supply. Boyer could ultimately undercut the teachers of Little Blois in the same way that they had rendered their predecessors irrelevant: by appealing to mercurial language standards and undercutting the authority of others to teach a “pure” variety of French. In the debates over authority that characterized the teaching of French in the Restoration, each teacher’s book came to stand for “the Living Voice of a Master.”

Conclusions

Language-learning texts were intimately concerned not only with speech—with correct grammar and socially appropriate sentences—but also with the *sound* of speech. As they became more sophisticated, across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they increasingly addressed the question of how to utter these sentences in the right

56. Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger’s French Grammar*, 10th ed. (London, 1682), sig. A4v.

57. Claude Mauger, *Claudius Mauger’s French Grammar*, 12th ed. (London, 1686), sig. A4v.

58. Abel Boyer, *The Compleat French-Master, for Ladies and Gentlemen* (London, 1694), title page.

way, in a voice that would be heard, and heard with respect. An investigation of the underappreciated oral nature of these texts highlights two key findings for the study of the relationship between voices and books in the early modern period. First: the oral apparatus of these texts served a social as well as a scholarly function. Early modern people judged each other based not simply on the language they spoke but also on the way that they spoke it. The sound of speech was the basis for the pigeonholing of speakers within hierarchies of gender, status, nationality and/or regionality, and age. Our histories of orality need to consider not just what was spoken in oral contexts but also the manner in which it was expressed: the concern for voice in these texts is an indicator of the importance of the sound of speech for early modern teachers and learners. Second, these texts model a relationship between books and voices that is more complex than “reading aloud.” These are texts that, as well as being read and used in oral contexts, often required additional oral and aural information to “activate” their pedagogical materials. They were fed by oral and vocal interactions as well as feeding into them.

One concluding observation arises from a reading of these texts. We know that early modern English print was polyglot and international—deeply engaged in processes of translation, transmission, and adaptation of material with roots in Continental literary cultures. The technologies of English print, as well as the texts that it produced, owed much to Continental Europe.⁵⁹ It was no coincidence that teachers from Hollyband and de la Mothe in the sixteenth century to Mauger in the seventeenth based themselves in St. Paul’s churchyard in London, at the beating heart of the early modern book trade. They recognized that the economies of text and speech in early modern London and early modern England were not distinct. Just as texts could capture the words spoken in a sermon or sung by a balladeer, so too could they feed on the speechscapes of the polyglot city. These books represent an underappreciated link between the well-attested polyglot literary culture of early modern England and the far-less-well-understood polyglot oral cultures and multilingual speechscapes that inspired, supplemented, and sustained it.

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59. A. E. B. Coldiron, *Printers without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2015).